

SA William Langer
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SPECIAL NOTE

THE ASSASSINATION OF THE PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN

The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan, was assassinated at Rawalpindi on October 15. Karachi Pakistani home service in English described this assassination:

"We announce with feelings of profoundest grief and deepest sorrow the death of the Prime Minister, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. He was shot dead in Rawalpindi this afternoon. His assassin (Kas Akhbar) of Hazara, was killed on the spot by the crowd. The Prime Minister had just stood up to address a public meeting when the attack was made.

"There was a crowd of 15 to 20 thousand to hear the Prime Minister. He arrived at the meeting at a quarter to four and was greeted with shouts of Pakistan Zindabad and Liaquat Ali Khan Zindabad.

"After he had taken his seat on the dais the President of the city Moslem League, under whose auspices the meeting was being held, announced that the meeting would be formally opened with the recitations from the Koran. After this Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was presented with an address of welcome, after which he rose to address the meeting. He had hardly uttered the first words when two shots rang out, hitting him, he sank on the dais.

"His political secretary and local Moslem League leaders rushed to pick him up and he was immediately removed to the hospital, where a blood transfusion was given. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, however, succumbed to his injuries.

"The assassin was caught on the spot with revolver in hand and was done to death by the crowd.

"The news of his death was received in Karachi soon after and the cabinet immediately went into session.

"A communique issued in Karachi a short while ago expresses a deep sense of grief at the tragedy, state mourning will be observed for a period of 40 days. Flags will fly at halfmast for three days from tomorrow.

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"All government offices will remain closed on Wednesday and Thursday. The burial of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan is taking place in Karachi tomorrow afternoon. A salute of 41 guns will be fired at Karachi at the time of burial.

"The Governor General was informed of the death of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and he will arrive in Rawalpindi tonight. The Governor of the Punjab and the Provincial Chief Minister have also left for Rawalpindi."

Rawalpindi is a Pakistan military base city in the northern Punjab, adjacent to Kashmir. Liaquat was not only Prime Minister but also Defense Minister and head of the Muslim League, the dominant political party in Pakistan.

A man of Western habits, tempered by the realization that concessions to Muslim orthodoxy were a constant political necessity, Liaquat had been a powerful force for moderation in all phases of Pakistan's domestic and international affairs. He favored collaboration with the West, advocated firm security measures against internal communist activity and resisted Soviet diplomatic pressures on Pakistan. His economic attitudes were characterized by conciliation toward urban commercial interests, the powerful landlords who exert great influence in Muslim League politics, the mounting pressures created by refugees, and the demands of liberal and leftist forces interested in immediate social and economic reforms. He had demonstrated continuing skill in reconciling the ambitions of powerful provincial politicians and cabinet officers. His death removes an able leader of national stature able to keep this complex chess-board of pressures in check. He was a major stabilizing force in Pakistan's politics, was extremely skillful in checking personal rivalries and political factionalism among his subordinates in the interest of achieving a working team and maintaining national and party morale.

First reports from Pakistan indicate that Liaquat's assassin was a member of the Khaksars, a fanatical right-wing, extremist religious sect of the Muslim religion. This group has been active in the Punjab, and has expressed its dissatisfaction with "Liaquat's policy of moderation" toward India and other problems. The sect is led by a man named Alama Mashriqi and it favors "Jehad," or holy war, against India on the Kashmir issue.

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It is likely that Liaquat, in spite of provincial rivalries and tensions, had gained stature as a popular figure and the probable immediate reaction of Pakistanis will be one of stunned amazement and a sense of confusion, shock, and great loss. The Pakistanis can be expected to reason that, with all domestic controversy apart, Liaquat was the symbol of Pakistan's national unity and international prestige.

Although a sharp rise in behind-the-scenes rivalries can now be expected, the immediate prospect is that all groups will temporarily sink their differences in the interest of maintaining a united front at a time of crisis. Liaquat Ali had no single deputy who would serve as a logical successor nor is there any individual in Pakistan who combines the personal ability, the political stature, and the outstanding Muslim League Party record of Liaquat. In choosing a successor to Liaquat Ali, the Cabinet and Muslim League parliamentary party will probably attempt to select as prominent and as non-controversial a figure as possible to arrest the sense of public confusion and to mobilize general popular support. There are several possible candidates that might be adapted to the present emergency but it seems likely that the prime ministership will be awarded only on a temporary basis until all the facets of Muslim League machinery can be brought into play to decide on the new leader of party and state, or to confirm the temporary selection on a more permanent basis.

The two most likely candidates for selection appear to be (1) Ghulam Mohammed, who is generally acknowledged to be the most competent cabinet official second to Liaquat, and (2) Sir Zafrullah Khan, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, who has presented the Kashmir issue before the UN. Neither of these two men command any organized political machinery but they are both men of ability who command general respect. Either of these two men may be put in the Prime Minister's position until the Muslim League machinery can be convened to decide the issue, or until national sentiment and support for the temporary nominee can be tested. (3) Since the assassination appears to have been motivated by frustration over the Kashmir dispute, two alternative potential candidates are: the present Minister for Kashmir Affairs, Gurmani, and Mohammed Ali, Minister without portfolio, both of whom have identified themselves with a strong policy vis-a-vis Kashmir and India. Gurmani has made a number of dramatic public statements on Kashmir and Mohammed Ali is reported to have been Liaquat Ali's major adviser in Pakistan's recent exchange with India over the same issue.

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Latest cabinet indications are that Zafrullah Khan will be selected. Zafrullah Khan is anxious to win Western support for Pakistan, but as the new chief of state will reflect a policy of heightened anti-Westernism, renewed threats of war with India over Kashmir and possibly a more radical approach to domestic, social, and economic problems.

ALLAMA MASHRIQI AND THE KHAKSAR MOVEMENT

The Khaksar movement in Pakistan begins with Allama Mashriqi, also known as Anayat Ullah, who took his lead from Hitler. The Allama was in Germany in the 1930's, met Hitler and was greatly influenced by him. Upon his return to the Punjab in undivided India in 1935, he established the Khaksars as a Uniformed para-military organization.

In 1933, Allama Mashriqi was a student in Cambridge after having secured the highest marks ever received by a student of the Punjab University in the field of mathematics. While at Cambridge, he continued to distinguish himself and took an interest in the Nazi movement in Germany as guidance for an anti-British movement in India.

When the Khaksars were established in 1935 under Mashriqi's leadership, they engaged in military drill and advocated social reforms. The term Khaksar means "humble" and the symbol of the organization was the long-handled spade.

The Khaksars came into prominence in March, 1940, when they defied a police ban and rioted in Lahore. The Allama was in Delhi at the time and professed ignorance of the demonstration. He was arrested and jailed until 1942 when he was released. However, the movement remained intact and during the World War II period which found the Congress refusing collaboration with the British in the war effort, Mashriqi counselled his group to take part in no anti-war activity. This attitude led to the re-assuming of legality by the Khaksars and Mashriqi's return to the Punjab.

In September 1945, Mashriqi asserted that the Khaksars would fight for the rights of poor Muslims who, he contended, were 99% of the population. When he confronted Mr. Jinnah with his arguments for the oppressed Muslim and accused the Muslim League of catering to the upper-class interests, Jinnah had him ejected from his house. Mashriqi also appealed to Gandhi to assist the Muslims "who were groaning under the heel of landlords."

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An officer of the Indian army, in 1946, reported that Mashriqi was mad and given to violence. Another source reported him to be unreliable fanatic and both these descriptions are commonly held about Mashriqi in Pakistan today.

It was in 1946 that Mashriqi offered the full support of the Khaksars to the Muslim League in the fight for Pakistan. In early 1947, the Khaksars protested against the possible partition of Punjab and Bengal. They argued that these provinces should go in whole to Pakistan, that the Muslim holy places of the sub-continent should be placed under the control of the Muslims, and that Bombay province should also be awarded to Pakistan.

When the Muslim League Council met in June 1947, to consider the Viceroy's partition proposal, the Khaksars stormed the meeting and were met with tear gas and police charges. Arrests of 100 Khaksars were made but they were released on pledges of good behavior.

An American officer reported his belief that the Khaksars would always constitute a potential source of trouble so long as the organization existed. Supporting the Khaksar program was a weekly paper called "All-Islah" which devoted itself to praise of Allama Mashriqi and the Khaksar views on Pakistan and economic reform. Mashriqi is quoted as having said: "Islam is the most successful system of rule yet devised and must be regarded as infallible."

During the Punjab campaign for political ascendancy of H. S. Suhrawardy during 1950, the latter reported that he was in contact with Mashriqi and that he did not believe Mashriqi was "as mad as people believe him to be". However, since 1947, the Khaksars and Mashriqi lost all trace of influence and respectability.

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LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

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PAKISTAN

Personal data: Born October 1, 1895, at Karnal, East Punjab; son of the late Ruknuddaullah Shamsher Jung Nawab Rustam Ali Khan. The family came to India from Iran about 500 years ago, and claims direct descent in the male line from the Sassanid King Chosroes I (Khosro Nushirvan) of Iran (531-578). Married first, when both were very young, to a first wife who never appears in public; married secondly to Irene Pant, a Christian girl of Hindu origin, who became a Muslim at the time of her marriage and assumed the name of Raana Begum, and who played an important role in public life; two sons by the second marriage, Ashraf (b. 1937) and Akbar (b. 1941).

Education: Elementary and secondary education by tutors at home; entered M.A.O. College, Aligarh, 1918; graduated from Allahabad University, 1919; Exeter College, Oxford, 1919-1921, B.A. and M.A.; completed his terms in law at the Inner Temple and was called to the bar, 1922.

Languages: Fluent English, Urdu, Hindi; perhaps also some Persian.

Career:

1920	Elected Treasurer of the Majlis of Indian students at Oxford.
1922	Returned to India.
1923	Joined the Muslim League.
1926-1940	Member, United Provinces Legislative Council.
1931-1938	Deputy President, United Provinces Legislative Council, and leader of the Democratic Party in the Council.
-----	Member of the Council, Aligarh Muslim University.
1936-1947	Honorary General Secretary, All-India Muslim League.
1937	Member, Indo-British Trade delegation to London.
1940-1947	Member, Central Legislative Assembly;
	President, Anglo-Arabic College and Schools Society, Delhi.
1943-1947	Deputy Leader, Muslim League Party, Central Legislative Assembly, elected March 1943.
1945-1946	Muslim League delegate to the Simla Conferences.
1946-1947	Member, Viceroy's Executive Council;
	Leader of the Muslim League, Indian Interim Government;
	Minister of Finance, Indian Interim Government;
	One of the four Indian leaders invited to London for a conference with His Majesty's Government, December 1946-January 1947.
1947-date	Prime Minister of Pakistan, chosen August 15, 1947.
1947	Held portfolios of External Relations and Commonwealth Affairs and Defence in the cabinet of Pakistan, in addition to that of Prime Minister, August 15-December 27.
1949	Attended London Conference of British Commonwealth Premiers, April 23-30;
	Invited in June to visit the USSR in November as official guest of the Soviet Government; did not go;
	Invited by President Truman through Assistant Secretary of State George C. McGhee on December 10 to visit the United States in May 1950.

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LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

Career: (Continued)

1950	Visited the United States in May, Elected President, Pakistan Muslim League.
1951	Died as a result wounds received at Rawalpindi, October 15, 1951.

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ZAFRULLAH Khan, (Sir) Chaudhuri Mohammed

PAKISTAN

Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan, chairman of the Pakistan delegation to the Japanese Peace Conference at San Francisco, is Minister for External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations of Pakistan and has been chairman of his government's delegations to all sessions of the UN General Assembly since 1947. He is not only considered to be the strongest member of the cabinet of Pakistan, but also one of the best liked and most outstanding of the delegates to the General Assembly. One of the ablest and most effective orators in the UN, his speeches are invariably cogent and closely reasoned. He has a very high opinion of the United States and of all things American.

Zafrullah Khan first attracted the attention of the British during the Round Table Conferences of 1930, 1931 and 1932, and due to his political moderation and brilliant legal ability he has enjoyed their confidence ever since those years. At that time he was already known as a successful lawyer in his native province of the Punjab, thoroughly familiar with British, Indian and Islamic law. Although he has not made a special study of international law, his duties, both official and unofficial, during a long career in public service, have taken him to Europe, America, and as Agent General in China during 1942, so that he has gained a wide experience in international affairs and in dealing with people of many nationalities.

Born on February 6, 1893, Zafrullah Khan received his early education at the American Mission High School in Sialkot. He received his B.A. from Government College, Lahore, and did graduate work at Punjab University, Pakistan; King's College, University of London where he received his LL.B. with Honors. Cambridge University has conferred an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws upon him. In 1914 he was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, London. The Order of the Knigh Commander of the Star of India was conferred upon him in 1937.

Zafrullah Khan is a member of the Ahmadiyyahs, a sect of schismatic Moslems. Because they are strict and religiously conservative he never, under any circumstances, touches alcohol or tobacco, and his wife, the Begum Zafrullah, nee Bedrun Nissa Begum, remains in strict purdah.

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MOHAMMAD, Ghulam

PAKISTAN

Personal data: Born August 29, 1895, in Lahore; married, but separated from his wife; one married daughter, Iqbal, who acts as his hostess; one son, educated in Milwaukee.

Education: Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh. Probably received additional education abroad. M. A., LL.B.

Languages: English, Urdu, Hindi, Persian, Arabic, probably various Indo-Pakistani dialects.

Career:

----- Successfully competed in the Indian Audit and Accounts Service Examinations.

1932-1934 Financial Adviser, Bhopal State.

1934-1940 Deputy Accountant-General, Posts and Telegraphs, Government of India.

1941 Additional Secretary, Supply Department, Government of India;

----- Made Companion, Order of the Indian Empire.

1942-1946 Finance Minister, Hyderabad State.

1946 Knighted; renounced Knighthood and C.I.E. in accordance with the decision of the Muslim League Council.

1946-1947 Director, Tata concerns.

1947 Member, Expert Committee dealing with Assets and Liabilities and Expert Committee dealing with Currency, Coinage and Exchange, appointed to hold detailed investigation on the various problems arising from the partition of India;

1947-date Minister of Finance, Government of Pakistan.

1948 Delegate, Government of Pakistan, Pakistan-India Inter-Dominion * Conference, New Delhi.

1948-date Minister of Economic Affairs, Government of Pakistan.

1949 Made economic study tour of Sweden and Denmark, July; Delegate, Commonwealth Ministers' Conference, London, July; Holiday in Europe, August; Visited the United States, September; Leader of Government of Pakistan delegation, Pakistan-India Inter-Dominion Monetary Conference, New Delhi; Organized International Islamic Economic Organization; Convened, First Conference, International Islamic Economic Organization, Karachi, November-December.

1949-date President, International Islamic Economic Organization.

1950 Leader of the Government of Pakistan delegation, Commonwealth Foreign Minister's Conference, Colombo, January; Visited the United States, July; Member, Board of Governors, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; International Monetary Fund, Washington, July;

* - Leader of Government of Pakistan delegation, Pakistan-India Inter-Dominion Conference on Minorities and Trade, Calcutta.

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MOHAMMAD, Ghulam (Continued)

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Career:

- 1950 (cont'd) Attended Annual Meeting of International Monetary Fund,
Paris, September;
Attended Second Conference, International Islamic Economic
Organization, Tehran, October.
- 1951 Leader, Pakistan delegation, Indo-Pakistan Conference (financial
discussions), Delhi, May;
Member, Board of Governors, Sixth Annual Meeting of Inter-
national Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the
International Monetary Fund, Washington, September.

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TAMIZUDDIN KHAN -- is president of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. He was elected to this office unanimously on December 14, 1948, apparently on the basis of his competence in conducting parliamentary proceedings (and of his general middle of the road views) rather than for his degree of prominence. Tamizuddin was born in 1889 at Khankhanapur, Faridpur district, (East Bengal). He took his BA (1911) and his MA (1913) at the Presidency College, Calcutta, and passed the final law examination at Calcutta University (1914). Practicing law at Faridpur, he soon entered politics, joined the Moslem League in 1915, the Khilafat Movement, 1921, and held a number of municipal posts. From 1926 to 1946 he was a member of the Bengal Legislative Council, since 1937 on the Muslim League ticket. From 1938 to 1941, he was a Minister in the Bengal Cabinet, holding the portfolios of Public Health, Agriculture and Industries, and again from 1943-45 as Minister of Education. In 1946 he was elected to the Central Legislative Assembly as a Muslim League candidate, and in 1947 as a delegate to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.